## **Locally Equivalent Weights for Bayesian MrP**

Ryan Giordano, Alice Cima, Erin Hartman, Jared Murray, Avi Feller UT Austin Statistics Seminar September 2025











## Are US non-voters becoming more Republican?

### Blue Rose research says yes:

"Politically disengaged voters have become much more Republican, and because less-engaged voters swung away from [Democrats], an expanded electorate meant a more Republican electorate."

> (Blue Rose Research 2024) (major professional pollsters)

### On Data and Democracy says no:

"Claims of a decisive pro-Republican shift among the overall non-voting population are not supported by the most reliable, large-scale post-election data currently available."

(Bonica et al. 2025) (major professional researchers)

## Are US non-voters becoming more Republican?

#### Blue Rose research says yes:

"Politically disengaged voters have become much more Republican, and because less-engaged voters swung away from [Democrats], an expanded electorate meant a more Republican electorate."

> (Blue Rose Research 2024) (major professional pollsters)

### On Data and Democracy says no:

"Claims of a decisive pro-Republican shift among the overall non-voting population are not supported by the most reliable, large-scale post-election data currently available."

(Bonica et al. 2025) (major professional researchers)

- The problem is very hard (it's difficult to accurately poll non-voters)
- · Different data sources
- \*\*\* Different statistical methods
  - · Blue Rose uses Bayesian hierarchical modeling (MrP)
  - · On Data and Democracy is using calibration weighting (CW)

# Are US non-voters becoming more Republican?

### Blue Rose research says yes:

"Politically disengaged voters have become much more Republican, and because less-engaged voters swung away from [Democrats], an expanded electorate meant a more Republican electorate."

> (Blue Rose Research 2024) (major professional pollsters)

#### On Data and Democracy says no:

"Claims of a decisive pro-Republican shift among the overall non-voting population are not supported by the most reliable, large-scale post-election data currently available."

> (Bonica et al. 2025) (major professional researchers)

- The problem is very hard (it's difficult to accurately poll non-voters)
- · Different data sources
- \*\*\* Different statistical methods
  - · Blue Rose uses Bayesian hierarchical modeling (MrP)
  - · On Data and Democracy is using calibration weighting (CW)

#### **Our contribution**

We define "MrP local equivalent weights" (MrPlew) that:

- · Are easily computable from MCMC draws and standard software, and
- Provide MrP versions of key diagnostics that motivate calibration weighting.
- ⇒ MrPlew provides direct comparisons between MrP and calibration weighting.

#### **Outline**

- Introduce the statistical problem and two methods (CW and MrP)
- · Describe covariate balance, one of the classical CW diagnostics
- · Define MrPlew weights and connect them to covariate balance
- · Example of real-world results
- · Future directions

#### Future work

Note that there was no talk of correct specification for the data you have.

That was a foregone conclusion when we started looking at equivalent weights!

How do you peform model checking with sensitivity analysis?

Existing methods evaluate whether the analysis changes "a lot" when you:

- Parametrically perturb the model (e.g. fit a richer model class)
- Non–parameterically perturb the data (e.g. produce gross outliers)

#### The problem is:

- · How much is "a lot"?
- · Non-parametric data perturbations are hard to reason about
- It's hard to say whether parametric model changes are enough

#### Instead, we

- · Parametrically perturb the data
- Observe whether our model could detect the change
- Know exactly the expected change (don't have to decide on what "a lot" means)
- Easy to reason about whether the data perturbation is reasonable
- Don't need to propose an alternative model, instead study the model you have

3

#### Related and future work

#### Student contributions and future work:

- · Alice Cima contributed significantly to this work
- Vladimir Palmin is working on extending MrPlew to lme4
- Sequoia Andrade is working on generalizing to other local sensitivity checks
- Lucas Schwengber is working on novel flow–based techniques for local sensitivity



Alice Cima

No picture! Vladimir Palmin



Sequoia Andrade



Lucas Schwengber

4

## References



Blue Rose Research (2024). 2024 Election Retrospective Presentation. https://data.blueroseresearch.org/2024retro-download. Accessed on 2024-10-26.



Bonica, A. et al. (Apr. 2025). Did Non-Voters Really Flip Republican in 2024? The Evidence Says No.

https://data4democracy.substack.com/p/did-non-voters-really-flip-republican.